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361 of each other, along the flank of a crest which descends noticeably in the direction
487 of the sea whose far horizon rises high in the western sky.

Shaykhan seems deserted as we drive through it, and then go down into Munṣif.
361 At first, olive terraces rise above us on the right and fall away below us on the
609 left, but almost immediately they are replaced by houses. We stop in what appears to be the middle of the village, where an old car is parked and human activity is apparent. In the next half minute or so, a group of small barefooted boys, dressed in shorts, gathers, and they eye us intently as they talk among themselves in low tones. Across the road, an old man in a long striped gown leans on a heavy cane. While he stands looking at us, he is joined by a young man in a sport shirt and neatly pressed European-style trousers. Other figures appear, but no one moves, and everyone keeps his distance. Two women walk close by the car, peering into it as best they can without upsetting the large wicker trays which they carry on their heads. They do not stop, however, and disappear into a windowless building nearby. The loud chatter which has been coming from this building dies down suddenly to a murmur, and more people appear. Their faces seem expressionless except that they manage to convey a feeling of withdrawn, yet unabashed, curiosity. No one steps forward.

As we get out of our car, someone picks up a stone and hurls it at a large dog which has been barking savagely at us. It runs off, yelping. We approach the young man in European clothes and address him haltingly in Arabic, asking the whereabouts of one whose name we have been given. Almost before he has finished his reply, spoken in good English, the one we seek himself appears. We introduce ourselves, and he leads us to his house, elaborately inquiring after our
[574] health. Seated under his roof, we are offered cigarettes and small candies, soon his wife brings us coffee, and we experience for the first time the warm hospitality for which the people of Munṣif are famous.

We have arrived and can begin our study.

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585 members of the groom's party sat down on chairs on the right wing of the *maq'ad*. The rest of the *maq'ad* was occupied mostly by women and children from the bride's village. The bride was soon hustled off behind the cabinets, and she did not reappear for about half an hour, at which time the ceremony began.

After some shifting around, the central section of the *maq'ad* was occupied by, among others, the best man (*shbiin*), the groom, the Munşif priest, and the elderly priest of the other village, who is now largely inactive except for special occasions.

The waiting people seemed to divide themselves into three groups. One was gathered around the bride, the second at the *maq'ad*, the third (rather formless) moved in and out from the porch and stood around talking in the part of the house near the entrance. Occasional shots and fire-crackers were heard from outside.

[535] The *darbakky* was passed around from hand to hand several times, and perhaps six women did solo dances in the center of the *maq'ad*. A handkerchief in each hand, the woman either holds them aloft, twirling them, or waves them together as she dances. In most cases, there was little body motion, and the step simply carried the woman around in slow circles, but in one case—a woman who had to be persuaded to dance—some movement of the pelvis was apparent. Usually, the faces of the performers were rather expressionless, and the women, mostly young, but one or two middle-aged, seemed to be dancing merely as an expected part of the proceedings.

[533] While this was going on, there were repeated cries, especially by older women, to the group in general, of *ii-jay al-'ariis wal-'aruus*, followed by a shrill and very rapid "lu-lu-lu-lu-lu," with hand held to mouth. A third type of cry arose repeatedly from groups of men. They would sing some praise of the bride and groom and end it with a long-held high note, hands raised high, one finger pointing upwards. This was done at the greeting outside the house.

The solo dances did not follow immediately upon one another, and the intervals were marked by little or no activity in the *maq'ad*, people either sitting quietly or talking with each other, some changing places, others coming in. One

● [574] feature in general of social gatherings is sitting rather quietly in a circle—no pressure, apparently, to babble if one does not feel like it. Small glasses of *'araq* and wine, with small candies and sugared almonds, were passed around at one point.

Finally, a round wooden table was placed in the center of the *maq'ad*, and a white cloth was put over it. The two priests stood at one side together, with a lay assistant (a nephew of the bride although her contemporary in age). The bride, dressed in white with veil, was escorted to the table, her arm held by her *shbiini* (maid of honor). Her eyes were downcast, her arms folded across her stomach, and she stood in this pose throughout the entire ceremony. The groom stood beside her, and the *shbiin* was to his right—bride and groom flanked by *shbiin* and

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ment by most of the middle-aged people and with unfeigned derision by many, though not all, younger people. One middle-aged woman said that of course everyone knew how to do the *dabki*, and that "it is done sometimes, and at weddings." "But," she said, "it is better when everyone does it dressed in *shirwal* and *agal* and *kuffiyyah*." The only interpretation which the writer can give to this remark is that the *dabki* is associated with the old days which are no more. There is some evidence that the dance is done far less now in general than it used to be. An acquaintance of the writer's in Beirut, an American of Lebanese ancestry, said that for two years he had looked around unsuccessfully for a performance of it in Beirut. On at least one occasion his inquiries were met with the scornful remark: "Oh, the *dabki* is just for peasants in the mountains."

For the most part, the adolescent and young adult Munṣifiin seem to be committed to the rejection of the more obvious concomitants of their peasant background, and their de-emphasis on the *dabki* is probably an aspect of this. Rather than the *dabki*, it is the samba, rumba, and tango which please the young people most. In this respect, Munṣif is by no means an isolated case. Spanish and South American rhythms are immensely popular among the Lebanese. That well-known tune, "La Compecita," was a popular classic in Lebanon in 1943, and it remains so today. The appeal appears to be more rhythmical than melodic, and of course Spanish music has for a long time been influenced by Arab modes.

The social gatherings in the club are, in sum, featured by the playing mostly of Spanish and South American dances and songs on the phonograph. In traditional Arab culture there is no "concert" music. Music is either to be danced to or it is merely background for a poetic recitation. The second function is maintained today by the traditional forms, but the first has been expanded and taken over by Western forms. Dancing to Western music involves close physical contact between the sexes, and this is very much at variance with traditional norms. One older man, in fact, said, "All this touching is not good for the young people." In general, Western free social intercourse between the sexes has been a difficult kind of behavior for young people of the Middle East to adjust themselves to. To many of them it suggests an invitation to free sexual intercourse, an understandable misinterpretation which has led to much pain and embarrassment, for example, among students in the city.

THE HOME

Hospitality is a virtue which the Arabs value very highly, in part because it implies generosity, another trait which is explicitly valued. At whatever time a guest may arrive at a house, a cup of coffee is made specially for him; and if the occasion requires it, he is invited to dine and even to spend the night. All this is, as often as not, done without any prior notice at all.

The principle of hospitality applies among the villagers in their daily lives, although ordinarily it involves no further effort than making coffee. In the absence

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of a coffee house, the bulk of evening sociability takes place in private houses. There are several rather fixed groups of friends in the village who constantly interact with each other.

These evening gatherings may involve mostly gossip or small talk, but more often conversation is in addition to games. In one circle the most popular game is bridge, played according to Culbertson rules. Some years ago someone returned from America with the book. "Before that we had our own rules." The play is fast and shrewd and also rather noisy. American technical terms such as "pass" and "no trump" are intermingled with Arabic numbers and suit-names. No money is ordinarily bet on these games. Pinochle is another popular card game, and there are many others.

Board-games are traditional in the area, and the most popular are backgammon (*tawli*) of which there are three versions, *dawma* (essentially the same as checkers but with elaborations), and chess (*shitranj*) which seems to be played less than the others because the games are so slow.

Word-games are very popular also, and very frequently writing is an essential element in them. For example, someone will write a dozen or so letters in their unconnected forms in a row. The others are then asked to make sense out of what appears to be meaningless. The principles involved in such games are optical tricks (e.g., the series of unconnected letters—somewhat analogous to a row of unconnected script letters in English), puns, and obscure grammatical technicalities.

Of more interest and, sometimes, more emotional involvement, are poetry games such as the one called *qafa*. In this, contestant A recites a stanza or so of Classical Arabic poetry. Contestant B must then respond with a stanza which begins with the same letter that the first one ended with. A must then recite lines which begin with the last letter of B's. And so it goes until one of the contestants either repeats something which has been given before or cannot think of anything. Impromptu verses, provided they scan and rhyme properly, are legitimate. The writer once heard this game played at a rapid rate of speed for half an hour without a break.

In these small gatherings of close friends the two sexes intermingle freely and equally.

NIGHT LIFE IN THE CITY

Those villagers who live and work away from Munṣif in the winter maintain very close contact with each other. For example, in Ras Beirut, the fast-growing western section of the city where the American University is located, there is a tight little group of six or seven nuclear families, all headed by young adults, who, it was said, visit together as a group almost nightly. Each takes its regular turn playing host to the others. One member said he thought that their separation from the village brought them closer together than they would be otherwise. The group is known as "little Munṣif" to outside acquaintances, and it appears to have estab-

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lished no identification with its urban surroundings nor to have established any strong ties with non-Munṣifiin. These people are, of course, by no means cut off from the village. People come and go from the village constantly for brief visits. The evening gatherings of this group are similar in form to those in the village proper.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The majority of men and women smoke cigarettes, and the rate of consumption appears to be high. European briar pipes are not smoked at all, but the old-fashioned water pipe is still enjoyed both by men and women.

It has been mentioned before that foreign influence has been particularly strong in the field of communication. Communication and means of entertainment overlap in such things as radio, the movies, books, magazines, and newspapers. Owing to its lack of electricity, Munṣif has only three battery-run radios, and this instrument is not particularly important in the village as a means of entertainment. The available programs are limited in scope, consisting mostly of news and "disk-jockey" broadcasts. From his limited observation, the writer was impressed with the esthetic appeal of the spoken word (radio broadcasts are in Classical Arabic) to the listeners.

Cities like Beirut are over-equipped, if anything, with movie houses which show Egyptian, European, and American pictures indiscriminately. There is no question but that they provide welcome diversion and enlarge the villagers' horizons, although the American movies have spread some very erroneous impressions of life in America. To some degree there is a cult of movie-star worship, but this is far less pronounced than it is in America, and it appears to be limited to the leading lights of the Egyptian screen.

Illustrated weeklies and paper-bound novels are very numerous and widely distributed. Their format seems crude to eyes which are accustomed to slick periodicals. The novels, for example, tend to have garish illustrated covers which are reminiscent of "pulps." However, this impression is deceptive, for most appear to be serious works by Arab authors or translations of Western best-sellers and classics. For example, Wilder's *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* and Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* were two which were being read in the village. In addition, there is in Munṣif some distribution of imported American paperbacks. No generalizations can be made here about the effect of this literature on the villagers. It can be said, however, that it seemed clear that Classical Arabic, spoken, retains a great deal of affective force which transcends the actual content of what is being said or recited. Western literature, on the other hand, is read merely out of intellectual curiosity or for sheer diversion, but it carries no emotional or esthetic charge.

434 It is evident that in all the villages the great majority of the breadwinners must depend on sources of income other than their own fields. Therefore, younger members of the family seek income outside of the village, while the farmer himself must work part-time for one of the larger landlords or the oil company, hold a government job, get money from abroad, or subsist on a very low level.

Physical Description of Project Villages

342 365 It is not possible to describe with statistical accuracy the «average village home» in the project area. A very general description must suffice until more detailed information is available. Homes are usually one-story stone structures of one or two rooms. They do not have electricity or running water. Usually the animals are accomodated in a stable connected to the house, or in a room in the house itself.

364 514 744 515 The villagers do not seem to be concerned with keeping their surroundings sanitary. In none of the villages is there any attempt to collect and properly dispose of garbage. The uniform practice is to «throw it in the fields». There are few toilets. Stone walls and fields close to town attest to means commonly used for sewage disposal. To serve the 5,645 people in the project area there are 82 pit privies. There are no tubs or showers. Homes have no screens and flies are free to contaminate food and mosquitoes to torment and transmit disease.

515 60% 574 Homes are nearly always neat and clean and the people attempt to clothe themselves decently with well-scrubbed garments. Though extremely poor, the village family is very hospitable and insists on sharing with a guest its meager supply of cigarettes or treasured coffee and sugar.

361 In the five project villages there are 1,100 buildings. This number includes 912 dwelling units, 34 business establishments, 143 separate barns and 11 public buildings. A detailed break-down of the types of buildings by village is shown in Table VIII. Included in the category of public buildings are seven mosques. Sarafand and En-Nsariyah have two mosques each, while in each